ALBANIAN WOMEN

291 The native dress for women in Albania is as interesting as it is varied and picturesque. The dress of the Albanian ladies is rich and costly. The ladies of rank dress extravagantly with very full trousers of some bright silk—generally red—and are drawn tight at the ankles where they are further ornamented with a deep flounce of rich, handmade lace. Over this is worn the sleeveless vest and coat reaching to the knees, both, probably, of crimson velvet, gorgeously trimmed with gold lace and embroidered around the hem. The 302 Albanian lady of the higher class generally divides her hair into three strands, two of which are plaited around a red fez and the other allowed to hang free. From this fez 301 hangs a long, dark blue tassel which is full and decorated with small discs of pure gold or seed pearls.

291 The women of the Mirdite district wear a coat of thick, white woolen material, red trousers like those just mentioned, and a richly embroidered apron with fringe a half yard in length, but her headdress is simply a dark blue kerchief.

The poor peasant women dress in coarse

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

courageous. The Tosks are blue-eyed, and also have frequently blonde or chestnut hair. Their features are refined, and they are extremely elegant in figure and deportment. The Khams resemble the Greeks somewhat in feature. They have black eyes and hair, and darker skins than the Ghegs. The Liaps are the least handsome of all the Albanian women, and the laborious out-of-door life they lead, surrounded by privations of all kinds, soon destroys any degree of beauty they may have possessed in youth. They are, however, expert swimmers and divers, this pastime affording almost their only distraction.

The national costumes of the Albanians are extremely varied and picturesque, and are still rigidly adhered to by all classes. The dress of a Skipetar lady is extremely rich and costly. It consists of a sleeved gown of striped white gauze; a pair of very full Turkish trousers drawn in at the ankle, where they are finished off with a revers of thick embroidery; a long sash, also of gauze; a sleeveless vest, and a coat reaching to the knees, both of crimson velvet, handsomely trimmed round the borders with elaborate gold embroidery. The hair is separated into three tresses, one of which floats on the shoulders, the other two being twisted round the little red fez which is worn on the head, and kept in place by a kerchief of silk. The dark-blue fez-tassel, which is very full and long, is ornamented with tiny plates of gold or with seed-pearls, and droops on the left shoulder. Formerly the Moslem women went barefoot, but they now wear embroidered slippers in the house and yellow *babouches* out of doors. The Miridite women

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

291 wear a coat of thick white woollen stuff, red trousers, an embroidered apron with fringe half a yard long, and on the head a blue kerchief. The dress of the Christians is similar in form but usually of a violet colour. The *yashmak* and *feridgé* (veil and cloak) of [563] the Turkish women is worn out of doors by the [562] Moslem women in the towns, and also, if they live in close proximity to Moslems, by the Christian women. The cloak of the latter is, however, of a different shape and of a light red colour, with a cross embroidered in front. This distinctive dress is said to have been imposed by a native pasha, who, being attracted by a Christian girl, not knowing her to be such, asked her in marriage and was refused.

The country women, however, both of mountain and plain, and whether Christian or Moslem, go about unveiled. Their costumes vary extremely in detail, but are generally of stout homespun and felt, and in [171] form resemble those of the Greek and Bulgarian peasants of Macedonia, the leading features of which are two aprons worn under a coat. In the villages of the plains, however, a blue petticoat, trimmed [531] with red bands, is worn over an embroidered linen gown, with a bodice of white cloth embroidered in black.

● 302 Albanian ladies appear to be even more addicted than Osmanlis to the use of cosmetics. No sooner are they married than they begin to dye their hair [303] with a decoction made from gall-nuts and palm oil, paint their eyelashes, and extend their eyebrows till they meet over the nose. For their skins they use a "wash" in which various deleterious ingredients

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

enter, redden their lips and cheeks with iris powder or carmine, and stain their nails and the palms of their hands with henna.

The social status of the Albanian women varies according to district and creed. The Liaps and the Christians of Southern Albania and Epirus generally occupy the least enviable position, all the hard out-of-door work devolving upon them. The Northern Albanians and also the Tosks, on the other hand, treat their wives with much greater consideration, consult them willingly in their affairs, both public and private, and accord them a position in the family almost equal to their own. And well do they merit the respect of their husbands and brothers. For often have they proved themselves to be fit companions for men, unmindful of fatigue, danger, and even death in the cause of liberty. When the armies of the Sultan menaced the privileges of which the people of Scutari had always been proud, it was the women who were the first to give the alarm and to excite the men to resist to the death, themselves following to aid in the combat. Restraining the tears natural to their sex, they would carry the mutilated bodies of their loved ones among the combatants in order to excite them to avenge their deaths. And the same women are said to have refused to receive back into their homes the husbands and sons who had for a moment turned their backs upon the enemy.

Albanian women, too, are often entrusted with negotiations for truce or peace. Such is the respect with which Albanians regard their women that they

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

553 852 [779] belong. With the Moslems no religious character is attached to giving the baby a name, the eldest male relative of the family fulfilling this duty for its youngest member. If, however, the child is a boy, the curious and interesting ceremony of cutting its hair is performed when it is a week old. The father [608 171] invites to fulfil this office for his child the man he most esteems, be he Moslem or Christian, and a bond of friendship is thus formed, called "the St. Nikolo," similar in its character to the *pobratim* of the Slavs, or the ἀδελφοποιτὸς of the Greeks, and also partaking in its assumed relationship of the nature of the tie between a Greek *Nono* and the family of his god-child;[1] he is considered a near relative, and may enter the women's apartments. This substitute for a [302] godfather cuts off, with a pair of scissors, some of the baby's hair in the form of a tonsure, and puts the lock, together with some coins, in a purse which is kept closed for three days. At the end of that period the money is taken out, and the hair thrown into the fire.

A similar practice is observed by the Roman Catholic Miridites on the first anniversary of a boy's birth, but it is performed under the auspices of St. Giovanni, instead of those of St. Nikolo.[2]

581 554 Although the Albanian beys have neither written charters, armorial bearings, nor insignia, matrimonial alliances between their families are regulated with the most rigid observance of rank and precedence.

[1] See *The Christian Women*, p. 72.

[2] The Roman Catholic priests do their best to discourage many of these ancient customs, the efforts of their Church never tending to stimulate national feeling, but rather to crush it entirely. [779 177]

4: Garnett B-4,5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

same way on the Friday. On this day, too, the women assemble to help in the preparations for the ceremony. While some busy themselves with putting finishing touches to the trousseau, or helping in the kitchen, the others take the bride in hand and commence to "busk" her for the occasion. Compelled by custom to submit silently to whatever operation they may, in their zeal to make her as beautiful as possible, subject her, the poor bride is bathed, scrubbed, "massaged," and *dépilée*, her hair and eyebrows are dyed black, and her feet and hands stained red with henna.

On Sunday evening the bride, dressed in her bridal array, and decked in all her ornaments, is presented to the women of the family. If she is of humble station, jewels are borrowed for her to wear for the occasion, so that, on this day at least, she may lack nothing. The work of the women who have dressed her is then freely and openly criticised, no word, however, being uttered which could possibly hurt the feelings of the bride; for, according to the good ladies of Scutari, a bride can never be otherwise than beautiful. Later on the father and brothers enter, and the maiden, throwing herself at their feet, asks their pardon with tears for all the faults she has since her childhood committed. Hardly has the father raised her than a chorus of sobs and cries is heard from all the company, who thus testify their sorrow at the approaching separation of the maiden from her family. When their grief has exhausted itself, they dry their tears and break into a song, which, translated, is as follows:—

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

585
[539]

Lower your crests, ye mountains high,
That we may the moon descry
Sailing through the azure sky.
Our bride her mother's counsels heard,
Who said, "My daughter, mark my word,
Love and respect your father new."
"That, mother will I gladly do—
I'll love and honour him alway
Who's given to me a bridegroom gay."

On Monday morning, the homes of both bride and bridegroom are thronged with guests, sometimes to the number of several hundreds. Each one brings an *oka*[1] of coffee and another of sugar for the benefit of the house, and at the same time presents the bride with a gold coin, the value of which varies with the degree of relationship of the giver. These coins are subsequently strung into necklaces, and constitute part of the personal property of a married woman.

[431
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302]

At early dawn the bride is dressed in her wedding finery, decked with all her jewels, and, at sunrise, is led to a corner of the principal reception-room. Here custom requires her to stand, motionless and speechless, with downcast eyes and hands crossed on her breast, until she starts for her new home. Two women, posted at either side, keep watch and ward over her, and the rest of the female guests, seated round the room on the divans, stare at the poor girl as if she were the idol of their worship. At meal-times, on this and the two following days, she eats alone, covered with a veil, though if she is anxious to make a good impression she will partake of food only

[1] About 2¾ lbs. avoirdupois.

personal charm, if that's what you mean," said Perolli, coldly. "It's really your short hair. But I can get twenty thousand kronen for you, if you want to marry and stay here."

"Twenty thousand kronen!" said I. "Two thousand dollars? For me? Here? But for Heaven's sake, why? You don't mean anyone thinks me beautiful, among all these Albanian women?" said I, indignantly.

"Of course not," said Perolli.

"And I can't even talk their language. What do you mean, twenty thousand kronen? And what has short hair to do with it? Don't be so annoying, Perolli. What *do* you mean?"

"Well," said Perolli, "Lulash would like to have an American wife. I don't mean he put it to me so crudely as that. He didn't actually put it to me at all, in fact. But I know that he will give twenty thousand kronen for you, and you can stay here and make over the whole life of Shala, if you like."

"But why me? Why not Frances, or Alex?"

"Because you are all a long way past marrying age, in Albania, and their hair is long, so naturally these people think they are already married. But your hair is short, so they think you are a sworn virgin. In these mountains, when a girl is old enough to marry and absolutely refuses to marry the man to whom she has been promised, she may escape the marriage by swearing before the chiefs of the two tribes an oath of life-long virginity, and she cuts her hair and takes a man's

582 place in the tribe. Naturally, when they see
302 you, at your age, with short hair, they think
that is what you did. If you were an Albanian no one would dream of marrying you, for the man to whom your parents gave you would have to kill your husband to clear his honor, and all the chiefs before whom you had sworn would be bound in honor to see that your husband was killed. But America is a long way off; that man and the chiefs would hardly come so far after you, especially as your customs are so different.
581 Besides, I think Lulash would take the chance,
562 anyhow. He really very much wants a woman to help him with the people, and he will not marry a mountain woman."

"You mean he would listen to my ideas and take my advice—you mean he wants a wife who will be his equal, a sort of partner?"

"Of course. What else is a wife? He would like nothing better than to have you give him American ideas."

"But I thought a woman had no rights at all, here."

"How absurd! She has all the rights that a man has."

"But women aren't in the tribal councils?"

"They are when it's a council of the whole tribe. They aren't chiefs, no. But chiefs always talk things over with their wives."

583 "But women are bought and sold. You just said so. Didn't you say you were offered twenty thousand kronen for me?"

CHAPTER XIV

A NIGHT BY THE BYRAKTOR'S FIRE—THE BYRAKTOR CALLS A COUNCIL—REXH TO THE RESCUE—THE BYRAKTOR'S GENDARME TEARS A PONCHO—MOONLIGHT ON THE SCUTARI PLAIN.

THEN his grandmother made three beds, on three sides of the fire. She brought a two-inch-thick mat of woven straw and laid it on the floor; over it she spread a handsome blanket of goats' hair dyed in stripes of magenta and purple; under one end of the mat she put a triangular piece of wood to serve as pillow, and when I lay down she tucked other blankets over me. Rexh and the Shala man had the other mats, and all the byraktor's family went to their own places, leaving the big room and the dying fire to us three guests.

At four in the morning the house was astir. Out of the darkness yawning men came to stir the slumbering fire; the byraktor appeared without his turban, a weird figure with his shaven, skin-white head and long black scalplock, and began to make the morning coffee; the sheep and goats were driven out into the rain by the ragged shepherdesses. I sat up and put on my opangi, and the sleepy Rexh, still streaked with red dye from his fez, rolled out of his blankets.

[Shoshi war chief's -- [250] Analyst]

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

penalties; and finally the conventions which govern the blood-feud. For the blood-feud has occupied from time immemorial, and no doubt still occupies, a very important place in Albanian life, providing the ultimate sanction in all cases in which personal honour is concerned, and on points of personal honour the Albanian is particularly sensitive; and the blood-feud is regulated by a number of very well understood even if unwritten rules and principles.

It is interesting to compare Albanian customary law with that of other headhunters, for the Albanians (see p. 230 below and Miss Durham, *Tribal Origins, etc.*, pp. 172 ff.) till recently at any rate were headhunters. The belief underlying headhunting generally is that life is a material substance residing *par excellence* in the head, and that the abstraction of an enemy's head enables the life-substance in it to be carried off to the head-taker's home to replenish the stock there and increase the fertility of its inhabitants, its crops, and its livestock. Incidentally a surplus of life-substance is necessary to beget children, and hence comes the importance of head-taking as a preliminary to marriage. The tuft left on the head by Albanians (p. 230). as by many Indian tribes and castes, by Chinese, American Indians and others, was probably left originally to shelter life-substance regarded as residing, as in the case of Samson, in the hair. Some Naga tribesmen of Assam give the same account of the purpose of this uncut tuft as do Mrs Hasluck's Albanians, that it is kept to carry away the head by. But this explanation has no doubt arisen from the fact that it is so used in practice. Among the Assam headhunters the vendetta is a communal or a village affair rather than a family one, and there is no taboo on taking the heads of women in pursuance of it, but quite the contrary. In this respect the Albanian practice is more suggestive of that of the Pathans of the North-West Frontier of India. Otherwise the unwritten law of Albania has much similarity with that of south-east Asia and Oceania. The communal destruction of an offender's house at which all members of the community must assist, for instance, is widely distributed from Assam to New Zealand; the banishment of a murderer for life or for a term of years according to the circumstances of the homicide, the association of compurgators with an accused person in the taking of an oath, the assessment of blood-money, are used in the Assam hills much as in the Albanian mountains, and probably in many other primitive areas also. But Albanian customary law is of particular

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

When describing how Albanian men used to shave their heads
● 302 except for a tuft on the crown, as a few old men and young boys
*628 still do, the Highlanders of north Albania asserted that a murderer
862 had licence to cut off his victim's head. The tuft, they said, was left so that an enemy might conveniently carry the head when he cut it off; failing such a handle, he would thrust his finger into the dead man's mouth, an intolerable insult. The veracity of this story appears doubtful, since although the Highlanders, Slavs, and Turks all cut off heads, Albanians as far inland as Elbasan shaved their head save for the tuft on the crown, and it is unlikely that all anticipated murder by Slavs or Turks. Whatever the purpose, the tuft was not confined to Albanians, but was seen in 1926 worn by small boys in the Turkish villages in south Serbia where the population was of mixed Turkish and Bulgarian stock.

*628 A murderer usually announced his crime to the victim's family
766 by a crude message to fetch him from such-and-such a place and
682 bury him. He was always expected to surrender the body, but if a feud was unusually bitter, the murderer might forbid the body to be buried in the cemetery in the ordinary way. If he was backed by enough men to make his ban effective, the body was buried in the secrecy of night. Sometimes he forbade it to be taken even at night to the cemetery; in that event it had to be buried elsewhere. A story comes from Sopot in Dibër. About 1893 Abas Kamber's enemy killed one of his men and forbade him to carry the body to the cemetery. Abas, strong though he was, could do nothing but bury it in the courtyard of his house. Just before it was lowered into the grave, the enemy repented and sent him leave to bury it in the cemetery. To show that he was not always prepared to do the enemy's bidding, Abas sent back the message that he would not dig up the body again and concluded that burial as it had begun.

Hiding the body was universally deprecated. When men stole a grazing cow, it was said they killed it, roasted and ate what they could of the meat and hid the remainder. But it was not to eat a man's flesh that they killed him and they must not conceal his body like the cow's. If they did, the feud was doubly embittered.

*628 By rights a man was never buried where he was killed. Even if
764 the spot were two days distant, or if, like Kol Mali's victim, he had
682 lain three weeks undiscovered, he was carried home for burial. 'He had been theirs', his relatives said, and neither distance nor a natural repugnance could prevent them from doing their duty by him. In the northern mountains, in Mirditë and in Kurbin, a heap

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
EF6 Serbs EF6
Croats EF4
Albania EG1
Slavic Peoples E16

S 302 754 755 278 C S 755 777 278

'in order to draw out the fever'. This prescription has been used amongst others in close contact with Islamic culture, and, by analogy, powdered quinine is substituted for henna. On the other hand, some plants have a semi-religious significance, without representing any economic value whatever; and only some of these again are used in medicine in a mystical sense. Others have a mystical value, where and when the medical use is lacking or lost. Thus *Sempervivum tect.* in Šumadija has no meaning attached other than it is 'lucky'; its medicinal use is practically restricted to Dalmatia. The iris was a sacred plant before its chemical properties were known, and its rare use is traceable to literary sources.

It is not always clear, either, that the veneration of a plant depends upon any marked obvious property, inherent in substance or form.

S 302 [177]

The origin of the now very extensive use of various minerals and pigments is indeterminable. Again we incline to point to oriental commerce, partly on account of the numbers of them which appear regularly under Turkish names, and their late entry into written prescriptions.

S [563] [164]

The use of cosmetics has been established for the ancient Slavs. At present the application of pigments to the skin is confined to urbanised areas and Mohammedanised centres, where the blackened teeth and sore lips which are seen there are due to the use of mercury and antimony in the preparation of face creams, and not, as travellers sometimes suggest, to the presence of syphilis. But tonic lotions are regularly used for beautifying skin and hair; and in South Serbia and the Lim district and other parts, and particularly amongst the Albanian population, the hair is bleached or dyed with henna or gall nuts, and that mostly in childhood. The oil or fat used by the ancient Slavs on their bodies, perhaps as a protection against cold or against stings of insects, may have had a ritual use, and witch ointments actually exist. I have not been able to discover the exact ingredients of such an oil but, on not wholly reliable evidence, I have heard of hemp oil in this connection, which fits in very well with an

A [302] S SP 302 751

In many cases the men shave their
302 their head completely except for a tuft of hair on top of the head.
291 This tuft is left by them to grow into a long lock. In the south their dress resembles that of the Greeks. In the north it varies from the town to the country, and in the countryside it varies again according to the different regions. In Scutari the Catholics wear wide, pleated black breeches which among the men reach down below the knees, and among the women down to the ankles. Further they wear white stockings, a short lower jacket with attached long sleeves and a sleeveless top jacket. In addition the women wear an embroidered sleeveless coat. The Mohammedans wear the pleated coat (fustan) that weighs several kilograms and remains short in central and southern Albania. It consists of several hundreds of long, narrow strips of linen cloth sewn together. A cotton or silk belt holds the coat, and the weapons are clamped inside a leather belt. To this are added a lower and a top jacket. The Mohammedan women wear very wide breeches and richly embroidered mantles with long sleeves that have slits in them. The fustan is regarded as being ancient Illyrian and is believed to have been developed from the kilt; it has been attested in the surviving artistic monuments in Mycenae and on ancient Crete, as well as in the Palaeolithic caves of northern Spain. The rural population wears, likewise as an ancient Illyrian inheritance, a small, tightly-fitting, semi-spherical felt cap which does not cover much more than the top of the head, and is found represented among the "Barbarians" of the victory monument of Adam-Klissi. Tightly fitting sheep's wool trousers with two transverse slits in the region of the groin, which by some are considered Slavic, by others Thracian, an under jacket with sleeves, and a sleeveless vest, a mantle and a fur coat are also worn by the rural people. For these types of clothing evidences have again been
[462] discovered from antiquity. In the mode of life, the working of the
252 fields by the woman is regarded as an ancient cultural tradition; in the same category are placed the baking of flat cakes under the baking bell, the cooking of blood, fat, meat, and spices in a goat's stomach which is turned to and fro over the red hot coal embers, the cooking of wheat grains without prviously grinding them, the hand mill (Figure
412 14), and the turbine mill (Figure 10). The latter's grindstones lie five to six feet above the water wheel into whose spoon-like spokes the water
312 is poured from a steeply inclined conduit. Still belonging to the ancient cultural heritage are the watering of the field by means of canals and wooden conduits, something which is regulated by the family because of the dearth of water--Figure 16 shows a marking post, one and one-half meters high.

[See likarutz, El Europe, cat. 116, p. 696--Analyst]

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Byzantine Civilization EH3
Hellenic Greece EH5
Serbs EF6

the Serbian *intelligentsia*, formerly Minister at the Court of St. James's. Possibly the belief that Draga dabbled in witchcraft was one reason why the populace cheerfully acquiesced in her murder. Near-Eastern politics are more often swayed by old-world beliefs than some folk are aware of.

By chance one night in Krsto's hut I learnt that the ancient rite of dedication by hair is part of the Orthodox baptismal ceremony. I was showing my folding pair of nail-scissors when Pope Gjuro exclaimed in admiration that they were just the thing for clipping hair at baptisms. Old Gjuro himself, of course, wore a beard, and his unclipped locks flowed on his shoulders. Hair, as we have seen, can be used to work grievous harm. "The simplest way of avoiding this peril," says Sir James George Frazer, "is not to cut the hair at all." Samson's strength lay in his hair. Kings, medicine-men, and others who were very holy, have gone unshorn, and so to this day do the priests of the Orthodox Church, the direct descendants of the priests of pre-Christian cults. Firmicus (Julius Maternus) wrote the *Errors of Religion* about A.D. 350, and described "men who stay in temples in an unkempt state, and walk abroad thus and never cut their hair, and who would announce something to men as if said by gods." Firmicus was a Sicilian and had, doubtless, been taught by Rome, for he did not connect holiness with hairiness as did Byzantium.

One of the many bitter complaints brought against the Church of Rome by Michael Cerularius, Patriarch of Byzantium (1043–58), was that Latin clerks shave the beard. So abhorrent did this practice seem to the Byzantine that he refused the Communion to shaven clerks. Thus a deep-rooted belief in the magic power of hair was one of the several odd reasons which helped to split the Church and ultimately affect the fate of Europe.

Rome, not given to haggling over unimportant details, did not and does not object to moustachioed and bearded priests should local custom prefer them. The Orthodox Church makes no exceptions. In the more civilized lands the Orthodox pope now likes to twist his locks into a "bun" pinned up under his high hat when he is not officiating. But up-country I have seen strange popes whose tangled black locks streamed in the wind, and whose faces were muffled to the eyes in beard that had never been profaned by steel: wild men of the mountains with knife and revolver in belt.

Hair-cutting as a dedication of the person is an old Balkan rite. Daremburg and Saglio, in the *Dictionnaire d'Antiquités*, figure a marble slab found in Thessaly, on which are carven two neat pigtails, "offered to Poseidon by the sons of Dumachos," says the inscription. In a storm hair would thus be cut off and thrown overboard with the hope that

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1 ●
Historical Yugoslavia EF2
Balkan Peoples E13
Montenegrins EF5

H 302 171 175

angry and said: 'Do you dead dogs dare threaten the Roman realm? I will shave off those locks of yours and then cut off your heads.'

"He then imprisoned them for six months and released them terrified, and for some time the Avars submitted to Rome and gave no trouble."

The Nemanja kings, as seen on the frescoes at Dechani, all wore the moustache. Their beards are very small. The hair of the head is completely hidden by the crown.

B 302

To-day in the Balkans the beard is worn almost solely by the Orthodox priesthood and the Moslem dervishes and hodjas. Thus the holy men of both faiths observe the hair taboo.

Laymen in all parts where the modern fashion of clean-shaving has not penetrated always wear the moustache. Perhaps vague memories of the days when the hair was burnt as ultimate disgrace haunt the mind, for the clean-shaven man, I found, was a creature condemned and despised.

M A 302 ●

In Krsto's hut I mentioned that my brother was clean-shaven, and the company, abashed, stared at their toes and were speechless. Then someone, deeply shocked, said: "No noble family will give him a wife." And kind old Pope Gjuro, wishing to be polite, said that such things might be done in London, but in Montenegro it was better not to speak of them. Whereupon the repulsive subject was dropped.

186

M A 183 554 186

In both Albania and Montenegro a hairless man is called by the Turkish word "Chosé." Bald heads in both lands are very rare. I never saw more than a slight thinning on the top. A really bald, shining head is thought an awful thing. We were once discussing the American regulations for emigrants. A Montenegrin who had been to America angrily denounced the injustice of the health inspectors at the landing-place. "I myself," he cried, "saw them allow a man with no hair on the top of his head—a most horrible sight—to pass. And they stopped a poor boy who had only a few little bare spots on his head and said he was diseased!"

H 538 554 302

In old Serbian ballads the hero's moustache is his glory. Mighty fine were these warriors.

> And there came five horsemen clad in black;
> At their head rode a hero upon a raven steed.
> His black moustachios reached below his shoulders
> And hung to the pistols in his sash.
> His breastplate ("toké") glittered through his moustachios
> As doth the moon when fifteen days old
> Shine through the branches of a fir-tree.
> Lo and behold, O my brother Mujo!
> Next to them come three horsemen
> Clad in white cloth and riding upon greys.
> At their head is a warrior on a grey steed,
> And his fair moustachios reach to his shoulders, etc.

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)-1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Historical Yugoslavia EF2

H 538 554 302 And so they follow on, each matching his horse to his immense moustache. As Krsto used to say with a sigh, "One does not see such sights nowadays."

It is noteworthy that the warriors carved on the mediæval gravestones of Bosnia show no hair either on face or head. The work is very rude and shows no features either (Fig. 22). H 764

A 302 In Albania, too, the moustache is very precious. My old friend Marko cherished a fine one. When he was young he declared he could easily tie its ends behind his head—the true test, he said, for a moustache.

A 776 554 In the fairy tales he used to tell, the villain was a "Chosé," a hairless man. They were always abominably wicked, he said.

The British Navy lost its prestige when clean-shaven officers appeared in Scutari in 1913.

A 302 293 554 When Marko was young and his moustache in its prime, he was kavass to the Turkish Embassy in Vienna, wore a gold-embroidered Albanian dress, and cut such a gallant figure that no less a person than one of the Rothschilds noticed him. The wealthy Jew asked the poor Albanian to quit Turkish service and be doorkeeper at the Rothschild palace. The salary offered was beyond Marko's wildest imagination. "I thought I should be a rich man," said he, "but the dog—yes, he was a dog—he told me his servants were clean-shaven and I must cut off my moustache. My moustache that I could tie behind my head! I said that not for all the gold of the Rothschilds would I cut it off." So Marko was never rich, and was never tired of telling of the insult.

So great is the respect for the moustache that the Catholic Church humours her Albanian flock, and bishops, abbots, and secular priests all wear the finest moustaches they can grow.

A [793] "If an Italian or Austrian comes here as a missionary," said a young Albanian Franciscan to me, roaring with laughter, "we shut him up till he's grown a decent moustache. It would be useless to send him to a mountain parish without one; they would hunt him out."

A 302 A great variety of head-shaves is found among both men and women of the Albanian mountains. The Catholic married women of Maltsia e Madhe shave the forehead and temples, and dye the hair black on marriage, and make their face look very large. A similar fashion is to be seen in many early Italian portraits of ladies. The Mirdite women and some of the allied groups wear a fringe over the forehead and do not dye the hair. The men of Maltsia e Madhe shave a great part of the head, and leave either one great lump on the top or two big side tufts; or they shave the back and leave the front. The temples are usually shaved, even by Scutarenes, who wear European dress. A 292

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Historical Yugoslavia EF3
Serbs EP6

Some Balkan Taboos. Iron. Hair

In the Pulati mountains the head is often shaved, except for the perchin.

In olden days a boy did not rank as a male till his head had been shaved. This was not done till after the ceremony of the first hair-cutting, described above. When once shaved he could be killed for blood-vengeance as male blood of the tribe.

Mothers would defer the head-shave if they could for a year or two in consequence, but it was a practice not approved of.

The heads of both girls and boys are shaved in the mountains, and a fringe is left over the girl's forehead.

When I was in Kosovo vilayet in 1908 I found that among the scattered Serbian peasants the heads of both girls and boys were

FIG. 23.—VARIETIES OF ALBANIAN HEAD-SHAVES

shaved. Both had a perchin, and the girls a fringe over the forehead. So soon as the girl was betrothed her hair was allowed to grow. In the rare case of her remaining unmarried I was told she would keep her head shaved.

In the Albanian mountains, where the girls were betrothed as children, I found the hair was not allowed to grow till they were marriageable.

Wood-ash and water in the mountains is the usual shaving mixture. Even in civilized places methods were sometimes barbaric. I watched a barber, who stood at the gates of Ragusa on a market-day, inviting incoming peasants to indulge in a shave before entering the town. The patient sat cross-legged on the ground. The barber gripped his head between his knees, spat freely on the razor blade, and set to work.

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Historical Yugoslavia EF2
Bulgaria EE1

A H 302 The results seemed quite as good as those achieved by the most advertised shaving creams.

Head-washing in old days was a purificatory ceremony. The Roman women, says Plutarch, washed their heads on Diana's day, August 13th. What a pity head-washing has not been made part of Bank Holiday ritual.

8 515 302 The only head-washing ceremonial I met within the Balkans was at Ochrida, where the Bulgar women all washed their heads on the last day of Carnival. My landlady appeared without her sham pigtails and with her head dripping. She was deeply shocked to find me dry-headed. All the women at the refugee hospital I worked at were also wet-headed. The meaning of the ceremony was the renunciation of cleanliness during Lent. But I fear most of them regarded it as a penance, and so far as head-washing was concerned kept Lent all the year round.

One poor woman whose only son had been killed as a Komitadji had formally renounced washing of every kind as a sign of mourning for the rest of her life. It was a genuine expression of everlasting grief, and she was greatly respected for it.

Even so did Queen Isabella of Spain vow not to change her linen, and so gave her name to a colour. A light dun horse in France is still called "Isabelle."

Farewell

So far we have traced ancient life in Balkan corners. Much yet remains to be told—of dwellings and of manner of life; of costume, of the hearth, of tools, boats, and implements; of tales and fables: but our tale is already long enough, and the rest must be left for another day.

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*128 A few features of the soft parts of the eyes show significant tribal variation. The western tribes, particularly Zadrima, Malsia e Madhe, and Dukagin, have large minorities with external eyefolds, rare in the east and in Mati. Men from Dukagin tend to narrow their eyelids to slits, and this accounts for 14 out of 28 significant differences in palpebral opening. The same tendency in Has accounts for 9 of the rest. In the case of Dukagin, at least, part of this may be due to the fact that I measured them in the snow, in bright sunlight. Most of the tribes had 20 to 30 per cent of slight eye obliquity, but Has with only 8 per cent was significantly below the others. This obliquity was not up, Mongol-wise, but down, as is usual in narrow-faced Europeans.

The lips show a few local differences only: Dukagin has thicker integumental lips than the others, in 18 out of 23 significant cases; Has runs low and Malsia e Madhe high in membranous thickness, to a very minor degree in each case; Malsia e Madhe and Malsia e Jakovës have a little more lip eversion than the others. Only a few of these differences reach 3 times p.e., and only one attains 4. Except for Dukagin's thick upper lip, we can ignore the rest.

Turning to the ears, we find no differences of consequence. We have 6 observations, in all of which only 20 differences of 3 times p.e. or over are found, out of a total of 810 computed. Of these only 4 are over 4 p.e., and one reaches 5 p.e. We may say with confidence that the Gheg tribes are alike in the frequency of the component factors in ear form.

REGIONAL VARIATIONS IN PILOSITY

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*128 In the observed form of the hair, the ratio of deep to low waves is virtually the same between all tribes, except for Has, which is recorded to have significantly more deep-waved individuals than all other tribes, except for Malsia e Madhe and Dukagin. Aside from Has the others are virtually the same. Owing to the prevalence of head shaving in some tribes, and the fact that my Has sample all lived near the city of Prizren, where modern haircuts are more in vogue than elsewhere, I have no confidence in this distinction. In hair texture, Zadrima shows a tendency in favor of fineness, and Luma of being medium, and both have some statistical validity. Again, I

[302]

11: Start E-4 (no date) 1939 EF1 Yugoslavia EF1
Albania EG1
Serbs EF6
Croats EF4

from madder; reddish brown from green walnuts (*Juglans regia*) and blue from copper sulphate.

Metallic decorations are also worn, and are almost always hand made by the men; large ornaments and belt clasps of silver or silvered brass are worn at the waist, silver coins and imitation coins are worn as a trimming to caps, and as necklaces and pendants to girdles. Ear-rings are also worn by some Slav peasants, especially Moslems. "The little ornament made of a small brass thimble and coloured beads was worn as a dangle at the end of the long pigtail. The pair of long plaits on either side of the face of the Bosnian woman in the frontispiece are ornamented with coins, tassels of beads and this thimble."

"Many of the objects worn on head-dresses are amulets to keep off the "evil eye" and include also such things as cowries and, in Bosnia, small mirrors." (M.E.D.).

CHAPTER III.

Women's Costume in the Central and Coastal Areas of Yugoslavia.

The main features of the costume worn (by all but the Moslem women) in the central and coastal areas of Yugoslavia are shown by the illustration of the Orthodox Bosnian woman (see Frontispiece).

In this area three cultures have influenced costume and its decoration, Central European culture which has travelled along the river valleys from the north, Mediterranean culture through Italian influence on the Dalmatian coast, and Balkan culture with its own Oriental tendencies. The married woman's costume consists of a long or medium length *shirt*, embroidered at the neck, front-opening and on the sleeves. The shorter type is similar in style to that shown on Plate IA, and the longer to that on Plate IXA, but without the embroidery at the bottom edge. A full, fairly long *skirt* of woollen or felted cloth is worn in the winter, and in summer may be exchanged for a linen skirt, sometimes closely pleated, with wide horizontal bands of cross-stitch or embroidery. A *girdle* of either folded linen with embroidery, or a tablet-woven belt such as is shown (Plate IVe) with its end hanging down in front, is worn around the waist and helps to keep up the heavy *apron* of tapestry weaving with its deep fringe (Plate III). A *short coat* of woollen cloth with embroidered decoration, often sleeveless, is added for outdoor wear, and in winter a longer coat with side gores replaces it. This is also often sleeveless.

In the coastal area and some other parts of old Bosnia and Herzegovina a *jelek*, or souave, is worn, similar in shape but differing in colour from those in Plates X and XI, which are from the southern area.

Married women in many districts of Bosnia wear their hair in two plaits hanging down over either shoulder in front, and as a *head-dress* have a diagonally folded kerchief, generally cream or white in colour, with the back corner embroidered and a red ribbon along the edge. In the coastal district a fringe is also added to the head-dress (Plate IVa).

On the feet thick *woollen stockings* ("sharapa") are worn, and over these, handsomely decorated short socks, which act as slippers in the house and are replaced by leather "opanke" for out-of-doors (Figure 9).

[Text continues on p. 14]